THE NEW REPUBLIC

The Students Take Over

Helen Fuller Reports on the "Sit-Ins"

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Language and Its Interpreters

Louis H. Pollak

Bigotry in West Virginia

Joseph Alsop

Rhee's New Broom

Edward Neilan

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Fishing for Minnows

★ This week the Harris subcommittee examining federal regulatory commissions goes after TV disc jockey and teen-age idol, Dick Clark. And this shows what is the matter with the Harris subcommittee. It is out headline-grabbing again. The Dick Clark show may be spectacular and will probably expose again the laxity of the Federal Communications Commission whose chairman has already resigned. But that has been exposed already ad nauseam.

Right under the subcommittee's nose is a vastly bigger case which it is doing its level best not to see. Why? Because it involves huge gas and power interests that the timid Harris subcommittee is afraid of. It affects most consumers of natural gas and electricity. It presents an issue on which a dynamic liberal party could win a Presidential election. Will the Democrats use it? How can they when top Democratic House and Senate leaders come from gas-producing Texas and are cooperating with the Eisenhower Administration?

Let's go back a bit. In 1954 the Supreme Court told the reluctant Federal Power Commission (a regulatory policeman guarding you and me against extortionate gas and power rates) that the Natural Gas Act requires it to regulate prices charged by natural gas producers. The FPC under Chairman Kuykendall hasn't wanted to do it. It hasn't done it. Two thousand cases are piled up because FPC hasn't worked out a yardstick formula. The price of gas mounts. In 1959 the Supreme Court scathingly criticized the FPC (all of whose five members are Eisenhower appointees) for not carrying out the earlier decision. No action from the FPC. But one man on the Commission has acted. He is William H. Connole, 37, from Connecticut, where for five years he was general counsel and chief legal officer of the state Public Utilities Commission. He was the lone dissenter in a 4-to-1 FPC decision not to regulate natural gas. The Supreme Court upheld him. Later he dissented again, 4-to-1, in a connected case; again the high court upheld him, slapped down the others.

Here is an example: A cartel of big oil companies in the Catco case, sought a rate from 5 cents a thousand cubic feet higher than rates which a pipeline had previously paid for natural gas from offshore Gulf fields. The FPC granted the rate. Only Connole dissenting. When the Court upheld Connole, it warned the majority against "exploitation at the expense of the consumer."

Connole's 5-year term expires in June. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, through reporter James Deakin, led the way as it so often does in pinning down the suspicion, then the fact, that Eisenhower is not going to reappoint Connole. His successor is already picked.

The White House Says No

★ Now this, friends, is outrageous. Here is the man who has been the consumer's friend on this stuffed regulatory commission being singled out for retribution as the target of the oil and gas interests! Here is the heart of the 1960 issue of the regulatory commissions – not Dick Clark. The Connole story is really the story of all the other regulatory commissions that have been packed with pro-business Eisenhower appointees. Members of six New England state regulatory commissions have urged Eisenhower to reappoint Connole "as the most preeminently qualified person in New England in the field of regulation." The White House says "No."

Why doesn't the Harris subcommittee investigate? Because it is a red hot political issue. It would mean exposing the Washington gas-oil-power lobby and showing how it is defying a Supreme Court decision through backers in Congress. To summarize: Four of the five FPC Commissioners do not believe the producers should be regulated. They disagree with the law which they are supposed to enforce. Do they resign? No. It is the one supporter of the law who is dropped.

Applause – But No Questions

★ Jack Kennedy spoke boldly and grimly to assembled newspaper editors here last week on the religious issue and when he finished there was 30 seconds of applause – but no questions. We thought the editors were subdued, not to say cowed. They were not going to put their fingers into the buzz saw of the Catholic-Protestant row! (It is interesting to see American editors close up; they are mostly Republicans and, in the mass, timid, ordinary people, always looking apprehensively over their shoulder.) Kennedy's speech for tolerance was powerful, eloquent and persuasive so far as it went. But he pooh-poohed the existence of religious bloc voting, whereas the Wisconsin primary shows very clearly it exists; and he could not in the nature of things discuss the problem of the American Catholic Church where it is dominant. Kennedy advocates separation of Church and State and is patently sincere about it, but how about his Church – ? In Massachusetts and Connecticut it is dominant, and it helps to continue legal censorship on birth control practice and information. Bigotry, in fact, isn't confined to one side. In all good faith this column would like to hear some open-minded Catholic from those states discuss the situation there.

Starting Lineup

★ Hubert Humphrey addressed the editors, too. He established instant rapport and excited wonder (which we have noticed repeatedly before) with those discovering him for the first time.... Stuart Symington, another speaker, spoke in a friendly, colorless, tea-cup manner: one editor after hearing him said he still wasn't sure there was such a person.... Adlai Stevenson was in superb form, a Civilized Man in a sympathetic environment, witty, brilliant and attractive but leaving as always a little lingering doubt – is he decisive enough, is he tough enough?... And Lyndon Johnson arrived in far-off Salt Lake City with two chartered planes; "not a candidate," he explained, but his advance party included six uniformed beauties, dressed in LBJ costumes.

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The Doubtful Test

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Senator Kennedy is gambling that by his aggressive grappling with "the religious issue" voters will turn to him out of sympathy and an instinct for fair play, and that what had been thought a political liability in West Virginia – his Catholicism – may be transformed into an asset. Whether the gamble pays off for Kennedy personally, it is a bold move. Whether it pays off for the nation depends on how soon this controversy can be retired from center stage to its proper place in the wings.

Mr. Kennedy's problem is a tough one, as is illustrated by a careful reading of his speech last week to the American Society of Newspaper Editors. He there expressed the hope that "we can see the beginning of the end of references to me as 'the Catholic candidate' for President." He has earned the right to that hope, for he has sensibly and unequivocally replied to endless questions about his attitude toward the separation of Church and State; he has said that the church "has no claim over my conduct as a public officer sworn to do the public interest," and that he cannot be expected "to explain or defend every act or statement of every Pope or priest." Yet, the Senator is a realist and therefore knows that his designation as "the Catholic candidate" has its advantages too. One recalls that his Vice Presidential bid in '56 was pegged in part to his Catholic appeal. Ideally, he would hope to benefit from his Catholicism, while not seeming to benefit. And this ambivalence is shown in two different sections of his talk to the editors.

He begins with a clear-cut affirmation that he does not "want anyone to support my candidacy merely to prove that this nation is not bigoted – and that a Catholic can be elected President. I have never suggested that those opposed to me are thereby anti-Catholic. There are ample legitimate grounds for supporting other candidates. . . . Nor have I ever suggested that the Democratic Party is required to nominate me or face a Catholic revolt in November. I do not believe that to be true."

Toward the end of his talk, however, Mr. Kennedy poses the very question he had so admirably settled earlier: "Are we to admit to the world – worse still, are we to admit to ourselves that one-third of our population is forever barred from the White House?" If the voters do not wish to admit this, what sign must they give? Would Senator Kennedy's rejection or election prove what needs proving? That is the question that was raised last week in these pages and on which Joseph Alsop comments this week.

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Nixon's "Legitimate Issue"

The Vice President of the United States too had his say on religion and politics before the American Society of Newspaper Editors. "Is religion going to be an issue in this campaign?" His answer suggests an approach far more unsettling than any thus far propounded:

"There is only one way that I can visualize religion being a legitimate issue in an American political campaign. That would be if one of the candidates for the Presidency had no religious beliefs. While the candidates in this campaign have differences on other issues, they are all men who recognize and cherish, both in their personal and public lives, the religious and moral principles which are the very foundation of our American ideals. . . . This fact removes any excuse for continued discussion of a so-called religious issue."

The plain implication of these remarks is that a man who "had no religious beliefs" would be, at least *prima facie*, unfit for the high office to which the Vice President himself aspires. Perhaps there are few enough nonbelievers among us so that his aspersion upon their dedication to American principles carries with it no serious political liabilities. But the Vice President has disclosed not mere gross insensitivity but a woeful ignorance of the "principles which are the very foundation of our American ideals" – an ignorance which in its own terms raises legitimate doubts as to Nixon's qualifications for the highest office.

Before the Presidential campaign is too far advanced the Vice President would do well to turn his attention to Jefferson's Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom: ". . . Our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions, any more than our opinions in physics or geometry . . . therefore proscribing any citizen as unworthy of the public confidence by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to offices of trust and emolument, unless he profess or renounce this or that religious opinion, is depriving him injuriously of those privileges and advantages to which in common with his fellow citizens he has a natural right. . . . It tends to corrupt the principles of that religion it is meant to encourage, by bribing with a monopoly of worldly honors and emoluments, those who will externally profess and conform to it. . . ."

Next the Vice President might re-read Article VI Section 3 of the Constitution which says: ". . . No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States."

Finally the Vice President might ponder the words of the late Justice Rutledge, written in 1947, dissenting in *Everson v. Board of Education*, in which he spoke for himself, Justice Frankfurter, Justice Burton, and the late Justice Jackson: "Compulsory attendance upon religious exercises went out early in the process of separating Church and State, together with forced observance religious forms and ceremonies. Test oaths and religious qualification for office followed later. These things none devoted to our great tradition of religious liberty would think of bringing back."

De Gaulle at Camp David

The parades, the wreath-layings, the speeches and the press conferences are all inevitable for Great Men from abroad who come to call, and President de Gaulle escaped none of them. He dignified the Congress by his imposing presence – reiterating his plea "to destroy these (atomic) weapons by common consent"; he was ticker-taped in New York; he placed flowers beneath the statue of Lafayette and he was asked the usual silly questions at the National Press Club. ("Who is your favorite French poet?")

But in one hour with Mr. Eisenhower on Sunday in Camp David, General de Gaulle scored his greatest triumph. For it has been learned that the President of France was able to persuade the President of the United States on two points he has considered essential.

First, there is no longer any question of trying to settle the problem of Germany or of Berlin at the Summit next month in Paris. The two leaders are resigned to accepting things as they are, which is to say, the division of Germany and of Berlin for an indeterminate period. In Paris, de Gaulle had said to Khrushchev: "You have your Germans, and we have ours." At Camp David, de Gaulle appears to have sold this point of view to Mr. Eisenhower – in spite of British pressure on the State Department on the advisability of discussing a new statute for Berlin. Chancellor Adenauer prefers the status quo, on the condition that no one admit it; Mr. Eisenhower now goes along with that view; Prime Minister Macmillan is of a contrary opinion; and de Gaulle not only is content with the status quo but has no hesitation about saying so.

On a second point there was also a meeting of minds: the President is said to have accepted the French plan to propose joint, East-West aid to underdeveloped areas. This was agreed to despite mild opposition from some of the younger American diplomats and probably in the interest of maintaining good relations notwithstanding certain differences between Paris and Washington on Germany and European security questions. The Americans and the French are expected to tell Mr. Khrushchev (who gave the idea a very chilly reception in Paris) that they favor a program for collaboration in the development of Africa. Interestingly, this had been opposed by Undersecretary Dillon publicly a week earlier; and Secretary Herter has consistently rejected the notion of any Soviet right or role in Africa.

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Mr. Hoover Leaves His Mark

Shortly after World War I, Herbert Hoover founded a research library at Stanford University which was to become, in 1957, the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace. Early last year, Stanford's Board of Trustees asked Mr. Hoover to prepare a statement of the scope, importance and purposes of the Institution. Mr. Hoover did so, and now the Trustees appear to be stuck with it. The statement included the paragraph: "The purposes of this Institution must be, by its research and publication, to demonstrate the evils of the doctrines of Karl Marx – whether Communism, Socialism, economic materialism, or atheism – thus to protect the American way of life from such ideologies, their conspiracies, and to reaffirm the validity of the American system." So much for independent scholarship.

The Trustees, under pressure from Mr. Hoover, then passed a new resolution governing the Institution which gave the former President the right of veto over the appointment of the director and which explicitly took all control of the Institution away from the faculty.

Without the consent of the Trustees, Mr. Hoover proceeded to publish his statement and resolution in a private pamphlet and circulated it on the East Coast to solicit funds for the Institution. He made, however, one unauthorized change in the wording of the resolution; he asserted that his statement had been made part of the Trustees' resolution and was therefore the Trustees' own official statement of purposes.

When the Faculty Advisory Board of Stanford's Academic Council expressed concern over this pamphlet on February 16, 1960, the Board of Trustees issued a "clarification" which said that although Mr. Hoover's statement was part of the official record of the Trustees, it was not the official statement of the Trustees. But since there is no statement of purposes in the official record other than Mr. Hoover's and the Trustees have not seen fit as yet to promulgate one of their own, the disclaimer is weak.

Mr. Hoover, continuing his intervention in the policies of the Institution, which the University and not he owns, obtained the position of director for G. Westley Campbell, his personal and only candidate for the job. Campbell, a right-wing economist, has affirmed his belief in Mr. Hoover's purposes and has indicated his intention of applying them to the Institution's work.

Thus by using his personal prestige, his membership on the Board, and his acquaintance with wealthy people, Mr. Hoover has managed to tighten his grip on what, until now, has been one of the most valuable research centers in the country. His behavior confirms his indifference to a cardinal purpose of a free university, which is free inquiry rather than right-wing or left-wing missionary endeavor.

"I Packed My Kit in a Hurry, But I Have Everything I Need"

Health Insurance - No Action

All the Democratic Presidential rivals seem to agree on the need for expanding social services and investing more heavily in the "public sector" of the economy, yet the effort to obtain in this Congress a useful enactment to provide insurance for old people against the costs of serious and chronic sickness is being blocked by the stone-wall opposition of all 10 Republicans and 3 Southern Democratic members of the House Ways and Means Committee. They want neither the Forand bill nor any variation of it. Insuring the aged is now at a point where only an act of Democratic leadership in the Senate, anchored in the backbone, can conceivably save it.

It would have been preferable to have the initiative come from the President, but in that quarter there has been a failure not matched, in the presence of a known problem and a known and effective means of dealing with it, since Mrs. Hobby's historic dereliction in connection with Salk vaccine.

The Forand bill, which proposes to provide insurance to the aged under the social security system for hospital care, nursing home care, and some surgical expense, is at the moment almost out of sight behind a disorderly

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collection of jerry-built "substitutes" and "compromises." Senator Johnson let it be known that he and Speaker Rayburn were working on something supposed to be legitimately derived from the Forand bill but purged of the surgical-cost feature which was identified as the provocation for cries of "socialized medicine" from the American Medical Association. But so far, nothing has come of their announced good intentions.

Had Speaker Rayburn entered the picture two months ago, a bill might have been produced which could get to the House floor. He didn't, and his intervention now appears to be in vain. What Senator Johnson is prepared to do is unknown.

Under pressure from Walter Reuther, Speaker Rayburn did talk with some Democrats on the Ways and Means Committee about a compromise. He rejected the Forand bill as "going too far." He claims to have committed himself to nothing, but two ideas show plainly in his thoughts.

One of these is that the increase of a fraction of a percent in the social security payroll tax by which the Forand program would be financed is undesirable, and that an increase in the maximum pay base on which payroll taxes are collected, from $4,800 to $6,000, was preferable. The other is to give old people an "option" under the social security system of taking higher monthly old age payments or health insurance – meaning, probably, hospital insurance and nothing more. But even this he has not sold to a majority on Ways and Means.

On the Republican side, two things happened, or rather, one thing happened and another continues not to happen. A group of liberal Republican Senators recommended federal and state subsidies to help old people to buy medical insurance policies. The proposal has got nowhere. The thing that continues not to happen is that the Administration continues not to bring forth a recommendation, meanwhile talking through its leaks about a federal-state subsidy based on the magic concept of voluntary participation by the aged.

War of Words in West Africa

In many ways, it is quite preposterous that former French Togoland should become Africa's twelfth independent state this week (April 27). For the new Togo Republic is a tiny sliver of land, barely 375 miles long and 75 miles wide. It is hot and humid; has few natural resources except its carefully-tended agricultural land and some bauxite; and its majority people – the Ewe – are actually a continuum of a tribal community which flows over into neighboring Ghana. Indeed, Ghana Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah since October has been publicly decrying the "balkanization" of Africa implicit in the creation of Togo and has been insisting that the new Republic should assume its logical position as a seventh province of Ghana.

The problem with the above truths is that Togo, despite all this, is almost a model state. Its Prime Minister, Sylvanus Olympio, is an urbane, London-educated economist who rose to the position of manager of the largest single firm in West Africa, Unilever's United Africa Company, before turning to politics in the 1940's. He led the opposition to French rule for more than a decade before 1958, when he was swept into office in a UN-supervised election despite every effort of the French administration to stack the cards against him. Being thereby firmly established as a "legitimate nationalist" in the public mind, he could afford in subsequent years to work out the details of independence with France on a businesslike, let-bygones-be-bygones basis, to Togo's considerable advantage.

Under Olympio's administration, Togo has developed the most efficient and economically-run bureaucracy in West Africa and has even this year achieved the miracle of a balanced budget. The role which Prime Minister Olympio and his *Comité de l'Unité Togolaise* play in the country is comparable to that of Nkrumah and the Convention People's Party in Ghana: it is not quite, but almost, a one-party state, but there is little question that this represents the overwhelming popular will. Despite his great power with the electorate, Olympio has moved considerably more circumspectly than Nkrumah in breaking down his country's traditional social structure, and is also more conservative in his views on pan-Africanism than his neighbor. Equally eloquent in Ewe, French, German and English, the Togo leader is clearly a politician of statesmanlike qualities who will carry far more weight in African and UN councils than is warranted by the intrinsic importance of a country so unprepossessing in size.

While Ghana could probably gobble up tiny Togo militarily if so moved, this is decidedly unlikely – for reasons other than the obvious one of world reaction. Most observers close to Nkrumah believe that the Ghanaian leader has three main reasons for taking the offensive on the Ewe reunification issue: (1) he knows that his own Ewes, who make up only six percent of Ghana's population but hold 20 percent of the country's top jobs, think sentimentally of Togo (a Ewe word meaning "behind the sea") as their homeland, and he doesn't want to lose them; (2) he thus intends to put a stop to any incipient demand by these Ghanaian Ewes for frontier revision by making it clear in advance that unification of the tribe will be possible only if Togo is absorbed by Ghana; and (3) above all, he wants to warn Olympio and other Togolese leaders to keep their hands off the Ewe reunification movement.

Basically, both Nkrumah and Olympio will be satisfied, for now, with the *status quo*. But they also both want the last word, and this may take awhile longer.

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Cuba's Due Bills

The objectives of Castro's social revolution are by now, midway in the second year of his regime, fairly clear. The National Institute of Agrarian Reform (INRA) is building a centralized socialist economy, with an emphasis on diversification, industrialization and economic independence of the US. Relying for their success on Cuba's peasant masses, the INRA managers have so far managed to give the *guajiros* a sense of partnership while maintaining state ownership and control of the new cooperatives. The Institute already runs 50 percent of the economy, including farms, hotels, the fishing fleet, retail stores, and construction companies; it is steadily intervening or taking over privately-owned sugar mills, cane-lands, ranches, mines and utilities.

One reason for the revolution's explosive pace is the Cubans' feeling that it ought to have taken place a generation ago. The unhappy combination of dictatorship, US domination, and a one-crop economy was the target of reform movements back in the 1920's, but every revolution somehow bogged down in bribery, bloodshed, and *Batistismo*. Despite her homogeneous, hard-working population and her proverbially fertile soil, a large part of the island's people were sunk in misery. Cuba's six millions were our sixth best customer, dependent on us even for such staples as lard, beans, rice, pork, flour, chickens, cheese and butter. It was this lop-sided colonial economy that Castro had in mind 14 months ago when he told the cheering Havana mob that "the Revolution has just begun."

The new government was able to finance the beginning of that revolution with several windfalls. The Ministry of Recovery of Stolen Property seized hundreds of millions of dollars belonging to Batista's henchmen. The big American companies, anxious to avoid expropriation, cooperated with Castro by paying taxes in advance and piling up non-transferable pesos in the National Bank; last year's tax receipts were the largest in Cuban history, and the $100 million Soviet loan negotiated in February is being used for the development of the refining industry and iron and steel mills. With funds from all these sources the regime has launched an ambitious construction program – roads, bridges, factories, and neat new concrete-block bungalows to replace the filthy shacks of the sugar workers.

The long-range economic prospects are less cheerful. The National Bank has only $60 million in reserves, as against nearly twice that in requests for dollars to pay commercial debts; the peso, nominally at par with the dollar, can be bought at a 2/3 discount, and Cuban bonds are selling for 59 on the New York market. The government is still spending $10 million a month on imported armaments, and payment for the property seized by INRA has yet to be made. Foreign investment has slowed to a trickle, and tourism is only a shadow of what it was. Later this year, after the last of the sugar quota has been moved, the regime will face a sharp balance-of-payments squeeze.

As long as Cuba can feed herself, the support of the countryside may enable the revolution to survive; Castro has said that his people would feed exclusively on *malanga* – the poor man's root crop – if necessary. The workers are already required to contribute four percent of their salaries to a special industrialization fund. But they simply don't earn enough to finance the INRA's ambitious plans. Private capital or US Government loans are unthinkable; the estrangement between Havana and Washington, though not total, shows no promise of giving way to concessions and conciliation. Moreover, further Soviet assistance, now that Cuba has no more sugar to sell, is likely to be expensive. The only alternatives are to resort to the printing press, like so many South American dictators have done or, like Stalin, to squeeze a capital surplus out of the agricultural worker. Every one of these possibilities is more or less unpleasant. Unless Castro decides to slow down the revolution, he will face some difficult decisions fairly soon as to how to go on paying for it.

China and India

Chou En-lai's six frigid days in New Delhi leave it more probable than ever that relations between India and China will never again be what they were before the border probings of 1959. Some face-saver may yet be devised: India might, one hears in authoritative quarters, retain nominal sovereignty over the disputed Ladakh frontier but give the Chinese free use and effective control of the area (in particular the Chinese-built road linking Tibet and Sinkiang) under a lease in perpetuity comparable to the US-Panama arrangement. But no formula for avoiding actual physical hostilities can alter the fact that, for the first time, China is held suspect by most politically-aware Indians, who are now ready to judge Peking's behavior in the rest of Asia with a new sophistication.

This change in New Delhi could strengthen the Asia-wide defensive front against China – *if* US diplomats resist all temptation to believe that the Indians are about ready to sign up for membership in the China Lobby. Most Indian opinion would agree with the conviction expressed by Mr. Nehru and others that so long as American policy is tied to the Nationalists, Peking cannot be effectively countered, and that by strengthening the influence of the diehards within Chinese Communism, matters have been made worse. But if a gap is likely to remain between Indian and US official thinking on China, the present favorable climate does offer a chance for narrowing this gap considerably. Highest importance should be attached to finding some

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common ground with the non-aligned nations on how to deal effectively with Peking.

"What is needed to meet the challenge of Communist China," argues A. Doak Barnett in his authoritative Council on Foreign Relations study, *Communist China and Asia*, "is, fundamentally, not so much an effective China policy as an effective Asia policy in the broader sense. . . . If the United States should adopt new policies toward China which the non-aligned nations regarded as more 'flexible' and 'reasonable' . . . this would help further to close the gap between our policies and theirs and would probably enhance the possibilities of obtaining greater approval and support from these nations for the United States' general purposes in Asia." Even if new moves in policy produced no real "solutions" to the basic problems in Sino-US relations, "if they at least helped to shift to Peking the onus for the present stalemate in these relations, this might in itself be an important gain."

Mr. Barnett examines the objection that any changes in US policy would be interpreted as a weakening of resolve to deter aggression. "So long as the United States remains firm in its commitment to protect the fundamental interests of the 'committed' nations," he concludes, "there is no essential reason why a tactical modification of American policy toward China on specific issues such as the offshore islands, UN representation, or recognition should have any significant adverse effect on these nations, or on American relations with them."

RHEE REMAINS THOUGH REFORM BROOMS ARE SWEEPING

The Old Man and the Goat

Seoul

Syngman Rhee's authoritarian methods were bound to result in the violence which reddened the streets here April 19 when police fired on student demonstrators killing more than 100 and wounding nearly 1,000. The referendum of editorialists and commentators was unanimous – Rhee should bow out and the quicker the better. Meanwhile, certain less sophisticated groups, such as shopowners of the Dongdaemoon Market Association, stated: "We will oppose to the death the resignation of our President." When the white-haired old man came out of his barbed-wire, tank-guarded residence the other evening and visited wounded students at City Hospital, one lad who was shot through the chest in the uprising clapped Rhee's hands and sobbed: "*Komapsumnida haraboje*" (Thank you, grandfather).

What is behind this paradox? What is the reason for the continued ambivalence concerning this man against whose regime so many protested and died?

Syngman Rhee, to the surprise of no one, is not above tough politics and is a firm believer in FDR's old axiom that the first duty of a President is to get elected. He also believes that he knows better than anyone else what is best for his nation. Disturbing to foreigners here and abroad is the fact that many Koreans tend to agree with him. Some who want him to remain are those who have capitalized on his name for financial and political gain. Others feel he should at least be given another chance now that he has finally found out the true sentiment of the people. Others simply revere him as a patriot.

In the last few years, Rhee has had to delegate more and more authority. Much of this fell upon his long-trusted aide, 63-year-old Ki Poong Lee, who has emerged from the current crisis as an unfortunate goat. Years ago Lee was Rhee's secretary – carried his umbrella and topcoat and arranged appointments. Lee was a devoted servant to the man he admired during the exile days and upon Rhee's return to Korea following World War II. His apparent abilities were recognized; he was given political rewards, including Mayor of Seoul and Minister of National Defense. In both positions, he discharged his duties ably. Finally he became Speaker of the National Assembly and Chairman of the Liberal Party Central Committee. In the latter capacity he began to strengthen a party muscle-building program that got completely out of hand. The party evolved into an awesome giant staffed by patriots, politicians, opportunists, corruptors and hoodlums. As it grew in power throughout the provinces with the aid of physical and economic intimidation, Lee's health began declining and he too found it necessary to delegate more and more authority. Underlings reported that all was going well; reports to Rhee were often distorted to cover failings or extensive resort to force. Popular resentment grew when, in December, 1958, the party steamrollered the National Security Law through the National Assembly. Most people did not sympathize with the opposition Democrats' forceful takeover of the Assembly rostrum in protest, but the subsequent employment of 300 security guards and

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leather-jacketed hoodlums to eject the opposition aroused public ire.

Prior to the March 15 elections no one seriously doubted that Rhee would be returned. When his only opponent, Chough Pyung Ok, died before the balloting, the only contest was between Lee and John Chang for Vice President. When Chang won by 200,000 votes, accusations of wholesale irregularities sparked a rapid series of protest demonstrations.

First was the election uprising in Masan followed by another when citizens discovered the bodies of police torture victims. When efforts to appease the populace sagged a group of Korea University students demonstrated peacefully in front of the National Assembly on April 18. En route home after the demonstrations some students were ambushed and beaten and the police declined to intervene. This lit the fuse for the bloody April 19 uprising of more than 30,000 students. The onlookers' applause for the demonstrators showed where public opinion was.

Since the election the Liberals, including Rhee, have claimed the elections were essentially honest and that any objections should be made through proper channels. But as several newspapers have pointed out, Rhee's statements on the campaign seemed based on misinformation. ("Some persons are clouding the president's wisdom," said the *Uynhap Shinmun*.)

A shocked and saddened Rhee now realizes that his palace guard has betrayed him. He has decided that a supra-partisan cabinet will be formed to run things until "more far-reaching changes can be made." This indicates that Rhee is thinking of new elections, as demanded in Herter's note.

The situation is far from calm here, and politicians trying to hang on may obstruct and confuse the issues. Rhee has separated himself from the Liberal Party and cut Lee Ki Poong from his entourage, both of which helped soothe public opinion. The next moves are delicate and important. Rhee hopes that a new cabinet made up of the best men available, regardless of party ties, will serve as an inhalator squad to a population which he now realizes has been long suffocating. Rhee's health appears to be good, but the events of the week have exerted a big strain on him.

Yung Tai Pyun, former Rhee Prime Minister and Korean 1954 Geneva delegate who had broken with Rhee, has been in close counsel with the old man during the past few days. He has impressed upon Rhee that basic changes in administration to identify with public sentiment are the great need now.

The US will probably demand an election of some sort before the Korean question comes before the United Nations in September. The broom of reform is already sweeping through the police and two previously untouchable hoodlum leaders have been arrested. The next few days and weeks should see enough corruption and fraud exposed to make Lincoln Steffens sit up in his grave.

Edward Neilan

The New, Ideal Harvard Man

A Gentleman, Hopefully – A Scholar, Necessarily

Perhaps Harvard University is the only American institution of higher learning sufficiently complacent about its virtues to be realistic about its vices. Among all the official "self-studies" which have poured from the university presses in the last decade, Harvard's have been almost unique in transcending the usual platitudes about "difficult problems," "dedicated efforts" and "dynamic solutions." Certainly the college's recent report on the combustible issue of freshman admissions policy is a model of critical realism, even if the revolution it portrays and advocates is in some ways alarming.

In the years before Pearl Harbor, Harvard students were selected largely by social and economic criteria. Since scholarship funds were limited to a handful of exceptionally talented applicants, most students had to come from families with $5,000 to spend for the four years. Furthermore, most public schools did not offer adequate academic preparation for the entrance exams, or for freshman year, and so the average applicant had to come from a family with enough money to finance at least a couple of years of private schooling. Family counted in other ways as well. If your father had been to Harvard you were virtually assured of admission. Lacking such qualifications, you could redeem yourself by persuading your father to become a member of the Harvard faculty, or by moving him to Nevada and thus capitalizing on the search for "geographic distribution" which began in the thirties under President Conant.

The results of this admissions policy were predictable. The students were no brighter than the national

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average, according to College Board scores, and the great majority acquired only the veneer of Culture required to maintain a "Gentlemen's C." A study of American scientists who went to college in those years shows that on a per-capita basis Harvard was not even among the top 50 colleges in the country. Yet studies of national income show Harvard alumni of this era are second only to Yale's, and analysis of *Who's Who* suggests that as a social training ground Harvard was surpassed by none.

Since 1945 all this has changed. Like other "elite" institutions, Harvard has gone academic, and while it is still easier to get into Harvard if you come from the "right" family, you must also be among the top tenth of the nation in scholastic aptitude. The new recruits have new ambitions. Business careers now attract only a handful of mediocre students, and while many gifted graduates still enter law, medicine and even the arts, the most talented are increasingly lured into the academic profession. On a per-capita basis Harvard is now one of America's top 10 feeders of PhD mills, with about one alumnus in six headed for a scholarly career.

Harvard's admissions report approves and encourages this trend. The ideal freshman class, the report says, would be composed of 1,200 students who "show exceptional promise of some creative achievement." And, according to this faculty committee, a creative achievement is a scholarly achievement. Admittedly, 1,200 gifted future scholars cannot be found even among Harvard's nearly 5,000 applicants, and so the college must accept other students "who are not destined to win Nobel prizes and who will not accomplish 'break-throughs' in any field of scholarship, but who nevertheless exhibit strengths which can make them important contributors to the life of their country and their time." This second-rate group of non-scholars would presumably include such alumni as Franklin D. Roosevelt, Learned Hand and perhaps Harvard's President Pusey. That, however, is not the company today's Harvard faculty is most eager to recruit; the new breed will follow in the footsteps of such alumni as Percy Bridgman, David Riesman or perhaps T. S. Eliot.

In some measure the new scholarly emphasis at Harvard and a few dozen other "highly selective" colleges reflects the requirements of the age. Better secondary schools, both public and private, have taken over the Ivy League's traditional role of civilizing the young. Authors like Freud, Marx and Eliot who were once regarded as material only for college upperclassmen, now appear on high school senior's reading lists. Paperbacks, television and the upper-middlebrow press have introduced college applicants to Culture, and Harvard must now rise to a more difficult task. By general consensus, inside and outside the universities, that task is to provide intellectual training.

There would be few to quarrel if the Harvard report merely urged the primacy of intellectual ability and training. But the faculty report on admissions goes on to more controversial assumptions. First, it suggests that Harvard College can make its greatest contribution to the nation by training scholars and scientists (rather than artists, politicians, doctors, lawyers, journalists, businessmen, ministers or philanthropists). Perhaps so, although the roster of the Harvard Alumni Association would hardly suggest that this has been its principal contribution in the past. The second assumption of the report is even more disturbing. The primary criteria for evaluating every applicant is his predicted undergraduate point average. While it is only natural for professors to seek students who write the kinds of examinations and papers of which professors approve, it is by no means established that such mark-hounds are the ones who "show exceptional promise of some creative achievement," either in scholarship or in any other field of endeavor.

A few years ago an insouciant admissions officer tried to illustrate the dangers of current policies by resurrecting the Harvard application of a now Harvard professor. The name and date were changed, and the application joined 4,000 others for admission to the class of '61. The professor was rejected. His high school record did not show sufficient "promise." We suspect that if this experiment were repeated on a large scale, a substantial portion of currently eminent Harvard alumni would be told that they were not sufficiently talented and should apply elsewhere. No doubt such students can get a good education elsewhere; many eminent men have emerged from obscure colleges, or from no college at all. But there is considerable evidence that the highly selective colleges such as Harvard offer a unique and valuable experience, not available in many more accessible institutions. To make this experience available only to men who promise to win Nobel prizes or achieve breakthroughs in some academic discipline, may make Harvard a more congenial place for the professors who run it, but what is good for Harvard is not necessarily good for the country.

America needs not only a "brain-trust," but men of action who can employ such resources. As we discovered in 1929, and may rediscover in 1960, it does little good to raise up a generation of intellectuals if you then put a Hoover or an Eisenhower in charge of the country. Franklin Roosevelt may not have been Harvard's brightest alumnus, but without such men the University's brain-power would have much less leverage on the national life. Only by continuing to select such candidates for admission as Mr. Roosevelt and, yes, Jack Kennedy, is the College going to assure vital and continued contact with the outside world.

CHRISTOPHER JENCKS

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A COMMUNICATION FROM JOSEPH ALSOP

Bigotry as Humphrey's Ally

[Last week's note on which Mr. Alsop has asked to comment concluded by saying that "a very large number of voters are not going to accept the proposition that only *by voting for Kennedy can they certify their lack of bias," and that an alternate choice "can as easily be interpreted as a positive preference as it can an evidence of religious prejudice."]*

Further comment is insistently demanded by the editorial in last week's *New Republic*, headed "The Question of Bigotry." Something must be said, first of all, about the extraordinary assertion that a "new and disquieting note" has been sounded, in the general discussion of the so-called religious issue, by my reports from West Virginia. The central fact revealed by this series of reports was the hard, disagreeable but demonstrable fact that Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey owes at least half of his present voter-support in West Virginia to straight religious prejudice against Sen. John F. Kennedy's Catholic faith.

You suggest that this fact was not fully demonstrated by me, asserting that my conclusions were based on "doorbell ringing on one block in one town in West Virginia." Nothing could be further from the truth. Not one town but four towns were polled: Slab Fork, in Raleigh County, a prosperous, working mining camp; Layland, in Fayette County, a characteristic abandoned mining camp; Huntington, the main city of West-Central West Virginia; and Chesapeake, a small industrial town in Kanawha County. Even in Chesapeake, where the poll was quick and the sample was relatively small, some seven blocks chosen for their representative character were quite intensively covered. Since Huntington is a considerable city, it was necessary to limit the poll to the Fifth Ward, which was said to be the most indicative by local political leaders of both parties; but in the Fifth Ward, many blocks, ranging in character from middle class down to poorer working class, were covered on a house-by-house basis. Half the remaining adult population of Layland, and very nearly a quarter of the adult population of Slab Fork, were questioned in the polls of these two places. In short, the test of opinion was the opposite of slapdash and localized.

The pattern revealed by this opinion test showed the expected minor variations. Over two-thirds of the Humphrey voters in Chesapeake were motivated by prejudice; in Slab Fork and Huntington, the proportion fell a hair below one half; and it was lower still in tragic Layland, where nearly two-thirds of those choosing Humphrey did so on grounds of economic policy. But after due allowance for these variations, the pattern was quite astonishingly strong and persistent. Over-all, in a sample of Southern West Virginia voters substantially larger than the inquiring Dr. Gallup's usual New York state sample, 49.9 percent of those who had decided to vote for Humphrey specifically stated that their vote was influenced by their religious prejudices. No voter who did not make this specific admission is included in the percentage given above. But as any opinion-tester knows, many who are prejudice-influenced will always refuse to admit it. Therefore I wrote – and I still strongly believe – that an actual majority of those choosing Humphrey had made their choice on religious grounds. If Senator Humphrey wins in West Virginia, it seems perfectly plain to me that he will owe his victory to anti-Catholic bigotry.

Senator Humphrey himself, of course, bears no responsibility for stirring up these dregs of bigotry in West Virginia. It is far from clear whether certain of his stop-Kennedy allies in the state, like the ex-Ku Klux Klansman, Sen. Robert C. Byrd, can truthfully claim to be equally guiltless. Senator Humphrey and his campaign staff bitterly, almost publicly, complained in Wisconsin that Senator Kennedy was unfairly benefiting from the preference of the Catholic voters. On far from conclusive evidence, they sought to persuade me, and many other reporters too, that Senator Kennedy was guilty of improper appeals to Catholic voters to vote for him as a fellow-Catholic. Stories to this effect were not published, to the best of my knowledge. But the whole country was told, much to Senator Humphrey's delight, and partly to Senator Humphrey's inspiration, that Senator Kennedy owed a considerable share of his Wisconsin majority to the Catholic voters there. This I believe to have been true, and I have said so in print. But in these circumstances, on the rule that sauce for the goose is also sauce for the gander, any debt Senator Humphrey may owe to Protestant bigotry in West Virginia must also, in simple fairness, be pub-

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licly recorded. In Southern West Virginia, at least, Senator Humphrey's debt to Protestant bigotry will be very much greater than Senator Kennedy's debt, in Wisconsin, to Catholic preference. Any reporter who established this fact to his own complete satisfaction, as I did, would be derelict in his duty if he shoved the fact under the rug.

You will note, perhaps, that I speak above of "Catholic preference" but of "Protestant bigotry." I do so purposely, because I further believe that many people, and especially many anti-Kennedy, anti-Catholic liberals, are now displaying a quite astonishing lack of sense of proportion and even of common honesty. It is always wrong, in my opinion, for any voter to be influenced by his religious faith; yet I can understand and even, in some degree, condone the Catholics who vote for Senator Kennedy because he is a fellow-Catholic. Nothing is more contrary to the letter of our constitution, or to the true spirit of our society, than the exclusion from office of qualified candidates on grounds of race or creed. The Catholics in our midst – at least a quarter of the whole American population, and probably rather more than a quarter – have long been effectively excluded from consideration for the Presidency by the unpleasantly named, unspoken, but rigid WASP rule. This is the rule established by Al Smith's defeat, that all Presidential nominees must be white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants. I am neither a Catholic nor a supporter of Senator Kennedy. I have stated in print that my first Democratic choice is Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas. But I also think that Senator Kennedy is a highly qualified contestant, and if I were a Catholic, I should be inclined to support him for the sole purpose of breaking the WASP rule for good and all. Once the WASP rule is effectively broken, as it will surely be this year or at some time in the future, I shall of course be wholly unable to condone Catholics who continue to let religious considerations influence their votes. They will then have had their proof that they are not being discriminated against; and it will then be up to them to prove that they too do not discriminate.

By the same token, I am wholly unable to condone, and I should have supposed *The New Republic* would have been unable to condone, a Protestant vote aimed solely to maintain this ugly WASP rule. Senator Humphrey is due to get great numbers of votes of this sort in West Virginia; and the fact deserves to be widely known and carefully weighed. Summing up, it seems to me that Senator Kennedy's Catholic support may be deplorable, but is also understandable and even in part excusable; whereas Senator Humphrey's anti-Catholic support is both deplorable and inexcusable.

THE MEETING FOR WHICH THE WEST IS UNPREPARED

The Soviet Approach to the Summit

Bonn

The approach to the summit, in mountaineering terms, is a matter of oxygen and endurance. The approach to the diplomatic Summit, as the West Germans envisage it, is a matter of uncertainties and hesitations. Long before the talks have begun, the Soviet Union has taken the initiative, and this somber fact demands an explanation. A bare month before the Paris talks, the US and Britain are only hesitantly in step; Chancellor Adenauer is pursuing a Fabian policy which is his very own, and General de Gaulle is successfully stonewalling on French objectives and aims in Europe. The losers are the West Germans on whom the full force of Soviet pressure is being applied. Lenin's dictum that he who holds Germany holds Europe has not been forgotten in Moscow.

Why has Western diplomacy been such a failure, and why is the Soviet approach to the Summit so successful at present? There are probably more than a dozen reasons, and I propose to deal with only two of them.

To write from Bonn, in April, 1960, about the Summit is to write from a position of acute local disadvantage – from a command-post in the front line of the Cold War-without-end, but a command-post which lacks a clear sense of command. Yet it seems plain enough that the first reason for the supremely confident Soviet posture is the overwhelming success of Soviet propaganda – especially that directed against the Federal German Republic. The weight of this propaganda is something which is only dimly recognized outside Germany, and not perfectly understood by the Germans themselves. Let me give several examples:

On March 20 *Izvestia* produced an "exclusive" account (totally fabricated) of how Chancellor Adenauer had inscribed a swastika in the visitors' book of the National Gallery in Washington. This charge is – it must be faced – a monstrous one. It puts Dr. Adenauer

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into the category of "swastika-smearers" who became active after the desecration of the Cologne synagogue on Christmas day.

On April 1 and 2, while in France, Mr. Khrushchev made violent attacks against the West German state. He was the official guest of the French Government. He knew perfectly well France was a treaty-bound ally of the West Germans. This did not stop him; nor did it draw a merited reproof from the French Government.

On April 2 the Soviet Government claimed that the West German Embassy in Moscow had sent a war medal with a swastika on it to a certain Ivan Hoppe who wanted to be repatriated to Germany. In reality the man had sent his medal (with swastika) to the Embassy in order to prove his identity. A medal minus swastika could not possibly have been genuine.

On April 6, 7 and 8 the Soviet Government indulged in attacks far beyond any normal interchanges between two states which enjoy diplomatic relations with one another. On April 6 a press conference was held in Moscow which had the sole object of showing that the West German Minister for Refugees, Professor Theodor Oberlaender, was an unconvicted war criminal. On April 7 Moscow radio castigated Adenauer for "feverishly" arming his Bundeswehr with the most modern weapons during the interval before the beginning of the Summit talks. On April 8 the Soviet Government took the virtually unprecedented step of sending back a West German note unacknowledged. The note had offered a mild protest against Soviet vilification of Adenauer personally, and of his Government.

On April 11 it became known in Bonn that Minister for Refugees Oberlaender was going on leave, and would offer his resignation before he returned to his desk in Bonn. The Communist campaign against him was based on two premises – he had been a keen Nazi with a special interest in Eastern Europe, and he might possibly have been personally implicated in Nazi outrages in the Polish town of Lemberg in 1941. The first premise is true. Oberlaender joined the Nazi Party in 1933. His interest in Eastern Europe rested on his belief that the Ukraine, the Caucasus and Turkestan could be divorced from "Great Russian" dictatorship. This prescience (for his ideas threatened the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics at its very roots) earned him the undying enmity of the Soviet Union. The Russians were ready to forget about the people who had fought against them; they naturally would never forgive those who worked out plans for Russia's decomposition.

But the accusations against Oberlaender for his alleged implication in the Lemberg atrocities have not been supported so far by one single shred of genuine evidence. Yet this has not prevented Soviet propagandists from pressing the accusation with the utmost vigor. Their reward has been the back-stairs removal of Oberlaender from office. Whatever Oberlaender's past, the episode is discreditable to the Federal Republic, for the removal of the most prominent ex-Nazi from the Federal Cabinet was not accompanied, as it should have been, by a full, fair and psychologically intuitive statement of the reasons for his dismissal.

So much for the first reason for Soviet confidence. The second reason – as seen from Germany – is equally clear-cut. The West Germans – 52.5 million of them – have failed to produce a single constructive idea for the solution of their country's problems. This is, of course, a qualified failure. The West Germans do not, for instance, want to lay themselves open to the accusation of "setting the pace" for the Western Alliance; all of Adenauer's concepts relate to the "defense" of the West. Still, the Chancellor has come forward only with his plan for a referendum in West Berlin, in which 2.2 million West Berliners would be asked if they wanted the city's status to remain as it is, rather than accept some other "interim" agreement between the Western Powers and the Soviet Union. There is nothing intrinsically harmful in the Chancellor's proposal – why not let the sturdy, sensible Berliners say a word about their city's future? Why not bind Berlin within the framework of existing treaties – until ultimate German reunification enables Berlin to become once again the capital of a united Germany?

No one would quarrel with aims of this kind. But on April 12 Dr. Adenauer made a damaging admission to the Federal German Press Club in Bonn. He said that the proposed Berlin referendum would, in effect, prevent the Western Powers from entering into some new arrangement over Berlin which might be unacceptable to the people of Berlin. What an admission of lack of faith in Western solidarity! Adenauer has, by this single statement, given fresh impetus to the Communist allegation that the Federal Republic is the main obstacle to a fair, friendly and peaceful agreement among the Great Powers in Central Europe. The Chancellor's sudden candor is alarming; it suggests he is losing his grip, and is undermining his own "policy of strength."

No survey of the winding route to the Summit can be neatly diagrammed. Yet it appears from here that the US, reserved but resolute, is looking for a constructive approach. Britain, more anxious and possibly more alert, is doing likewise. The policy of France is an enigma; and Adenauer has no idea beyond applying the limited braking-power available to the Federal Republic. If one fact emerges from all this, it is that the Western Powers have failed to make adequate use of the one year interval given to them to concert their policies. This is one year wasted – shockingly wasted, and the Soviet Union will demand a forfeit for such lamentable diplomatic failure, next month, in France.

Terence Prittie

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Southern Students Take Over

"The Creation of the Beloved Community"

by Helen Fuller

The day the "sit-ins" came to Atlanta, the flabbergasted manager of the City Hall lunch room watched a group of Negro students march in and take seats. When she phoned the police to come and put them out, the officer who took her call explained in a tired voice: "Lady, they're all over town. Just be patient and we'll get to you as fast as we can." The demonstrators had zeroed in on 10 carefully chosen targets at the same moment. Their movements were precisely planned and executed. And the story is the same everywhere.

There is nothing "sloppy" in the way these young people look, act or think out their tactics in advance. They evaluate one another's performances by whether there is a "planned follow-up." Students in Raleigh proudly claim that they rank first in this respect because they have not "laid off" demonstrating at all. After two days of all-day "sit-ins" on February 10 and 11, they started and are still picketing the stores that refused them lunch counter service. The eight members of an "Intelligence Committee," drawn from Raleigh's two Negro colleges, meet for several hours at least once a week. (The night before my visit the meeting had lasted from 9 until 2:30.) Picket line logistics are gone over in detail – gas for cars to transport the pickets and lunches to feed them, etc. (In Raleigh adult Negroes are helping pay the bills.) An impressive organization chart on the wall of "headquarters" at Shaw University shows an array of committees with well-defined duties heading up in the Intelligence Committee which lays out action plans for the group, checks them with a volunteer lawyer (so as to be sure they comply with city ordinances in every detail), then submits them to both student bodies for approval.

Students have learned from these experiences that they had not known their own strength. The light has dawned that they can do things their parents and elders cannot. Those who work for the white man are not as free as their children who can't lose jobs they don't have. Along with this knowledge has come the realization that students can go further if they don't expect the officials and faculty of their universities – men and women who are hostages in some degree to the white community, to go along. Almost every group of "sit-inners" I met had figured out for itself that the less the college knows about their anti-segregation activities the better for everyone. This is especially true in state-supported institutions where life with legislatures and boards of trustees is hard enough for the sympathetic administrator without foreknowledge of any extra-curricular challenges to white authority his students may have in mind.

But on another score the students have had to recognize their weakness: they lack the buying power with which to put pressure on white merchants who deny them service and employment. To exert effective economic and political pressure they must have the older people with them.

Greensboro students, having the longest experience in the current drive, have already faced this. Fred Jones, president of the Senior Class at North Carolina A & T, is one who sees it so clearly that he has been spending weekends back home talking to adults about staying out of stores. In his small hometown where everyone knows everyone else, this is asking a great deal, he finds. But the message is getting across to adults in Greensboro, the students feel. Most of the Negroes who cross picket lines to shop in the Raleigh dollar stores come from the outlying county, conversations with them disclose. Girls from Bennett College (Methodist) and from the Women's College of A & T, who have been a part of the "sit-in" movement since the beginning, spoke in 24 Greensboro churches on a recent Sunday pleading with people to stay out of stores that discriminate at their lunch counters. Similar drives were getting organized or had already begun wherever I went. But it is too soon to know whether "selective buying" – a popular euphemism for boycott – will work, whether enough Negroes will practice it to make merchants suffer for segregation.

Negroes have the potential persuasive power if they choose to use it. "We've known all along that Negroes swing a heavy economic club, especially in towns where they make up over half of the population," the *Wall Street Journal* quoted one Atlanta businessman as saying a few weeks after the "sit-ins" began. "If they learn how to use that power, they can do a good deal of damage." There is spotty evidence that they are learning. In Charlotte, N. C., where the Negro community

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spends an estimated $150 million a year, the *Journal* reports that "the Negro's choice of where to spend his money . . . is one of the factors which is very quietly but positively operating here."

The president of S. H. Kress says that volume dropped 15-18 percent in four of his Southern stores in February as a result of Negro "selective buying." Since the "sit-ins" one Charlotte variety store has had a reported loss in business of 65 percent and another in Greensboro 35 percent. Woolworth's national business dropped 8.9 percent in March, CORE's boycott coordinator states. "The 500 picket lines around the nation have undoubtedly played a significant role in this decline," he comments.

The boycott is the Negro's strongest weapon. But at this stage, the most sophisticated leaders tell you, it is still much more of a threat than a promise.

It is an effort for Negroes to break the dollar store habit. Necessities cost less there than elsewhere. One coed at Florida A & M who buys her shoes and stockings at the dollar stores was worrying about what the boycott they have undertaken locally will do to her tight budget. Her group was appealing to Negro merchants to meet the dollar store price on such items for the duration. Then, dollar stores are in the downtown area where most Negroes live. To transfer their trade to suburban shopping centers takes time and carfare, or a car. (Car pools to serve those who will support the boycott in this way are hard to organize.)

For many reasons an effective boycott is difficult even where provocation is strong – where police and other officials have been unduly harsh in handling the "sit-ins." And in Atlanta and Tampa and numerous other cities where the authorities have handled the demonstrators with discretion the general Negro public is not yet aroused enough to undertake anything so drastic.

"Let's You and Him Fight"

A second conclusion that must be added to Martin Luther King's summation of the "sit-ins" with which this report began last week is that they mark a transfer of leadership in the South. Hereafter the NAACP and those who emphasize the courts as the primary ally in achieving racial equality will take second place to Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference and those who favor direct non-violent action. The likelihood is that this will be a passive evolution, although efforts will be made to turn it into a factional fight. The press is already contributing to this interpretation, and there are people in both the NAACP and SCLC who would enjoy a battle for supremacy. But mature leaders in both groups are too smart to fall for the "let's you and him fight" line. NAACP leaders could not be happier to see Southern

young people show signs of willingness to bear the major burden of their own cause. And the most dedicated apostles of non-violent action know that the NAACP and its established local units are an irreplaceable sword and shield for the new movement.

Dr. King sees plenty of work for everybody. The NAACP, as he envisions the period ahead, will continue to fight the legal battles and rally all the financial and moral support it can. CORE will continue as it has for 18 years, proving to select, largely middle-class groups (about 12,000 members in 32 chapters) that non-violence works, widening interracial contacts, and, through its field staff, giving students practical advice on the do's and don'ts of "sitting-in" – which CORE pioneered.

His own SCLC Dr. King sees as the logical leader of the new movement the "sit-ins" have begun. "Southern rooted" and composed basically of people who have entree to masses of Negroes through their churches, the SCLC is in position to "spread the philosophy of non-violence and implement anti-segregation laws through common action." Non-violence, he feels, is the one technique that can "reconcile militants and moderates" on the side of civil rights. And "common action," as the "sit-ins" demonstrate, "gives a sense of participation and involvement" that litigation can never supply.

The basic pattern for SCLC was set before the "sit-ins" and would have gone forward had this manna from Heaven never come. But the fact of the "sit-ins" makes it possible to speed change. They are creating leaders – the most serious shortage in the Negro South – waking up lethargic elders – and attracting attention and sup-

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port from outsiders such as Southern Negroes have never known. Such heavenly blessings do not come every day. And as their magnitude became clear, adults determined that the students' protest must not peter out during the summer. On Easter weekend, SCLC sponsored a "Sacrifice for Dignity" rally in Raleigh to which leaders of the "sit-in" movement from 10 states and 40 communities came to talk over their future.

The group totalled 211 – 140 Southern Negro students, a dozen Southern white students, the rest students from the North, attending as observers, and adults from SCLC, CORE and groups like the American Friends Service Committee. The NAACP did not take part, but Thurgood Marshall reassured the press that his organization will continue to support the "sit-ins."

The principal speakers were Dr. King and James Lawson, Jr., the young Methodist minister expelled from Vanderbilt Divinity School for instructing Nashville students in techniques of non-violence which he had learned during three years in India. King stressed that to "evolve a strategy of victory," the students should discuss: "(1) The need for some type of continuing organization . . . (2) A nationwide campaign of selective buying . . . (3) A group of volunteers who will willingly go to jail rather than pay bail or fines . . . (4) How to take the freedom struggle into every community in the South without exception. Inevitably this broadening of the struggle and the determination which it represents will arouse vocal and vigorous support and place pressures on the federal government that will compel its intervention . . ." And last, he recommended that the students "delve deeper into the philosophy of non-violence. . . ."

This final suggestion is surely in order. Student leaders need more philosophical grounding than most of them have today to maintain strict discipline. Underlining the moral nature of the problem, Dr. King explained: "Resistance and non-violence are not in themselves good. There is another element in our struggle that then makes our resistance and non-violence truly meaningful. That element is reconciliation. Our ultimate end must be the creation of the beloved community. The tactics of non-violence without the spirit of non-violence may become a new kind of violence."

Mr. Lawson's keynote speech dwelt more on non-violence as a political weapon. Where King is insistent on speaking in moral terms – actually changing the hearts of white and black segregationists – Lawson talks knowledgeably of "power structures" in the Negro and white communities and, according to those who have observed him in operation, displays considerable hardheaded political calculation. He warned that students must expect expulsion, must organize financial support, and must think of "an army of youth to carry on picketing." Where college administrators are unsympathetic, he said, more walkouts of the whole student body, *à la* Baton Rouge, must be arranged. To a question about biracial committees, Lawson's answer, mildly, was that they were a waste of time.

Lawson's speech made a strong impression on the students. And apparently on Dr. King who began his remarks to a closed session Saturday afternoon with a lengthy tribute to him. Although at 31 he is nearer Dr. King's age than that of the average student, Lawson established a special closeness with the group at Raleigh, observers felt, and emerged from the 3-day session as the strongest potential leader of the new organization the group voted to form.

A Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee will hold its first meeting in Atlanta in May, with Dr. King and Mr. Lawson present as advisers. Its first business undoubtedly will be to figure out how to sustain and extend the "sit-in" movement during the summer months. If that test is passed and protest continues, its founders expect the SNCC to serve as a quick means of communication between widely-dispersed student bodies and to coordinate – or originate – nationwide "sit-ins" or boycotts.

The Chosen Few

The first phase of something strictly new has passed. What was spontaneous must now become "organized" – or evaporate. The first generation of "separate but equal" Negroes to be educated by the South has effectively voiced its distaste at being "separate" and its resolve to be, in fact, "equal." And in the "sit-ins" it has given some evidence that it is willing to pay whatever price that costs. (At the Raleigh Easter meeting the greatest applause went to the young girl who reported a workshop recommendation that students arrested for "sitting-in" choose jail over bail.)

From this point on their movement will be watched over, like a treasure, by sympathetic adults who understand the value of its survival. But by the logic of things, college students are the chosen ones to lead the next major step forward in the South – the winning of the vote. Negro students are not bluffing or overstating their immediate desires when they ask for what seems to them elementary justice – the right to eat lunch in a store which courts their patronage at every other counter. But in terms of Southern custom, this symbolizes a breach of the final – social – wall. It will take a while longer for that to come tumbling down in most Southern communities. But in the face of such advanced demands, made so loudly by so many, the request for the right to vote – the door to so much more – may fall more gently on the Southern ear.

This is the second of two articles.

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Language and Its Legal Interpreters

by Louis H. Pollak

Few *New Republic* readers will have forgotten the haunting essay on desegregation which Charles L. Black, Jr., contributed to these pages some three years ago. It will, therefore, come to them as no surprise that Professor Black's new book on the Supreme Court – *The People and the Court* – has a brilliance and power which put it in a different class from mine-run appraisals of American constitutional processes.

The People and the Court
by Charles L. Black, Jr.
(Macmillan; $5)

What Professor Black does – and does with consummate skill – is state the case for vigorous exercise by the Supreme Court of a uniquely American political invention: judicial review of the validity of the actions of state governments and of the coordinate branches of the federal government. In fast-acting literary formaldehyde the author lays to hopefully final rest the baleful notion that John Marshall's assertion of the power of judicial review was an act of "usurpation" not contemplated by the lawyers who drew our original blueprints. Then Professor Black reduces to rubble the companion notion that judicial review is an anti-democratic gene we should be embarrassed to acknowledge as a legitimate part of the American heritage. Professor Black shows that when judicial review vindicates those constitutional prohibitions which protect personal liberty – free speech, separation of church and state, a fair trial, the right to privacy, and the rest – it acts to fulfill our highest democratic aspirations:

> "The sane man controls his strength, and refrains from using it for many purposes – where its use will violate right as he conceives it, or hurt something he loves, or bring his own best aspirations to nothing. He develops, if he is to be sure and consistent in his self-control, special functions, special sides of his character, devoted to this end. To see judicial review as an analogue to these functions in the sound human character is to solve, by transcending, the problem of its democratic credentials. It is a means the people have chosen for restraining themselves."

Conversely, when the Supreme Court measures governmental action and finds it compatible with our fundamental principles, the Court's role in authenticating the work of government has, in Professor Black's view, profound importance of another – if closely related – sort. The judicial imprimatur should not always be understood as underwriting the *wisdom* of the challenged action, but at least it confers upon it the measureless benison of "legitimacy."

One of the striking things about Professor Black's book is its timeless treatment of problems of compelling immediacy. Jefferson, Hamilton and Marshall are as close to view as Holmes, Brandeis, Hughes and Cardozo. The author concentrates his theoretical fire on Professor James B. Thayer, who has been dead for half a century. In this way, he manages to avoid intervention in the present polemics which have now raged for fifteen years between the champions of "judicial activism" ranged militantly behind Justice Hugo L. Black and the proponents of "judicial restraint" who look with favor on Justice Felix Frankfurter. His abstention, however, entails certain risks, epitomized by *The New Yorker's* judgment that the book "would have been more useful if the author had included precise information about who now holds the concept of 'judicial restraint.' . . . Professor Black is a doughty battler, but he has neglected to give his readers score cards, so they can't tell who the other team is." Fortunately, Professor Edmond Cahn – who is on Sundays, for book review purposes, allowed to be *The New York Times'* Curator of the Constitution has already told *his* flock who the other team is: ". . . it is no secret that most of the judges and professors who disparage or deprecate judicial review are disciples of Justice Frankfurter."

Now I have no power of attorney which permits me to accept, in Professor Black's name, a call to active duty in a crusade against Justice Frankfurter or anyone else. Such matters lie between Professor Black and his draft board. But before another round of musketry deafens all ears, a few cautionary words may be in order.

It is of great importance to distinguish between two internecine judicial struggles which are, by the faithful of both camps, too often confused. One can – as Black does, and rightly, in my judgment – come out for unashamed judicial enforcement of the Constitution's great prohibitions. But one need not, in making this choice, necessarily endorse the view which Justice Black has recently articulated – in his NYU lecture on the Bill of Rights – that the framers of these guarantees of personal liberty "meant their prohibitions to be 'absolute'." To be sure, these propositions may substantially overlap: one who believes the various articles of the Bill of Rights to be "absolute" is probably readier to enter the judicial fray in their behalf than one who is less certain that dosages of political values can be administered full strength at all times and places. I submit (without purporting to locate Professor Black in association with or opposition to his view) that it is possible, and indeed desirable, to argue for full-throated judicial vindication of the cherished liberties explicit and implicit in the Constitution without acquiescing in the view that the rights set forth are "absolute."

The basic difficulty with Justice Black's "absolute" view has been fully treated by Alexander Bickel in *The New Repub-*

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lic for March 14. The nub of it comes to something like this:

Justice Black expressly confines himself to "discussing . . . whether liberties *admittedly* covered by the Bill of Rights can nevertheless be abridged on the ground that a superior public interest justifies the abridgement." He refrains from discussing "the wholly different and complex problem of the marginal scope of each individual amendment as applied to the particular facts of particular cases." But in so confining his focus Justice Black, as Professor Bickel puts it, "obliterates" the really decisive problems of constitutional adjudication – for he puts out of view the question of how one determines whether "the particular facts of particular cases" fall within or without the ambit of the constitutional provision which has been invoked.

For example, one knows that the First Amendment, originally a limitation only on federal action, has given content to the Fourteenth Amendment so as to limit state action as well. Justice Black has had occasion to say as much, speaking for the Supreme Court: "The First Amendment, as made applicable to the states by the Fourteenth . . . commands that a state 'shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof'." But when, in the *Everson* case, the prohibition on laws "respecting an establishment of religion" was invoked by a taxpayer who challenged disbursements of public funds to subsidize buses carrying children to parochial schools, Justice Black announced, for the Court, that to determine whether these subventions effected an "establishment of religion" within the intention of the Constitution "requires an understanding of the meaning of that language." And, after appropriate inquiry, Justice Black satisfied himself and four colleagues that the First Amendment's wall of separation of church and state had not been breached. Four Justices disagreed. Now the point here is not the easy debater's point that Justices Black and Douglas there read the First Amendment more narrowly than such partisans of judicial caution as Justice Frankfurter, the late Justice Jackson, and now retired Justice Burton, who were in dissent (the late Justice Rutledge, the fourth dissenter, was the only one of the so-called "liberal" Justices who voted against the New Jersey bus subsidy). The point is that whether or not the First Amendment is an "absolute" limitation was simply not a fruitful proposition one way or another. The question, as Justice Black observed, turned on the "meaning" of the constitutional provision barring an "establishment of religion" – and that, in turn, related, in Justice Black's words, to "the evils, fears, and political problems that caused that expression to be written into our Bill of Rights."

What is true of the "establishment" clause is true of each of the others. What is a law "abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press"? Is the law of slander (as John P. Frank asks, in his letter in *The New Republic* of April 4 replying to Professor Bickel) an abridgment? How about laws relating to obscenity? Or state censorship of movies? Or a federal law requiring a television station to give all political candidates equal time? Or the repeal of such a requirement? Or the application of the National Labor Relations Act, or the corporate income tax, to newspapers? (Does it matter whether compliance will put the newspaper out of business?) Which of the foregoing cases falls within the Constitution's "absolute" prohibition? Does it not depend, not on the *absoluteness* of the constitutional language, but rather on "the evils, fears and political problems that caused that expression to be written into our Bill of Rights"?

To make a meaningful assessment of the perils which generated the inclusion of certain language in the Bill of Rights, and to translate that assessment into an appraisal of "the particular facts of particular cases" to determine whether comparable perils are implicit in challenged governmental action – this is the endlessly taxing, subtle, creative and courageous job of the conscientious justice. To suggest that the job is easier than this – to suggest that the words of our written Constitution are a self-contained text of all the political verity we need – is to slight the task and to encourage popular misapprehension of the nature of our fundamental institutions. The view that words are "absolute" is too close for comfort to the view that they are woven of magic, and not of the nation's long experience. In such a view the text of the Constitution becomes animate, a giant which if only released from human bondage can banish all evils. The truer view, the view on which we have staked our salvation, is that each successive generation bears the responsibility of fashioning and refashioning our charter to meet new problems in the light of our accumulated wisdom. Our Constitution does not speak for itself. "It is a Constitution," wrote Marshall, "we are expounding."

This nation is deeply in Justice Hugo Black's debt. For over twenty years he has, in the highest judicial tradition, brought to bear upon "the particular facts of particular cases" his deep perception of the democratic aspirations embodied in our Constitution by the framers and by all the intervening generations. With more fortitude than most of his colleagues, he has insisted on our capacity as a nation to live up to those highest aspirations. And he has not been afraid to exercise the judicial power with all the vigor and courage which Professor Black in this book so persuasively urges our judges to acknowledge as their rightful arsenal. But our great justices – including Justice Black – have been great precisely because they have realized that the written constitutional text is only the starting point for meaningful constitutional adjudication. The superlatives of prior generations are the stepping stones for present inquiry. Perhaps it was this sense that the Framers of the Constitution committed us to an endless search for that "more perfect union."

Next Week

Spring Book Review

essays and reviews by

Susan M. Black • Robert Brustein
Frank Getlein • B. H. Haggin
Louis J. Halle • Gerald W. Johnson
Charles Burton Marshall • Rex Stout
Patrick O'Donovan • John Updike
William Jay Smith • Frank Warnke
and others

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"You Must Expect To Be Depressed"

by Martin Tucker

Hail the bumbling, fumbling conquering hero. Malcolm Bradbury has written a first novel that is sloppy, structurally flabby, occasionally inane, frequently magnificent and ultimately successful. It is as if Dickens and Evelyn Waugh sat down together and said, "Let's write a comic novel in the manner of Kingsley Amis about a man in search of his lost innocence who finds it." The result is one of the most substantial and dazzling literary feasts this year.

Eating People Is Wrong
by Malcolm Bradbury
(Knopf; $4)

Bradbury's novel starts out as a well-made satire of Welfare-State Academia, a genre becoming almost as indigenous to England as Mrs. Gaskell and the three-penny dreadful. About a third of the way through, the novel changes course to become an undergraduate-style lampoon with cardboard characterizations of poker-faced English beats and eccentric, highly-sexed college teachers. The last part of the book redeems all, for here Bradbury shows an increasingly tragic awareness of the comic shortcomings of life once the protective veil of satire is snipped off. This traffic between the clever and the profound, the serious and the flippant is never halted, and it may simply reflect the muscular good spirits of the author (who is only 28 and a teacher at the University of Hull) or his furious desire to please.

It is inevitable that Bradbury's book will be compared to Kingsley Amis' *Lucky Jim*. Both are novels about the deadly torpor of British provincial university life, and the deadly silly attempts to relieve or disguise that torpor. Both open in the same manner: in *Lucky Jim*, two college teachers are talking about a concert which had been given at a professor's house. The concert was a fiasco, and thus the tone is set: fiasco, comic comment on the fiasco, to be followed by more fiasco and comment. In *Eating People Is Wrong*, the head of the English Department reflects in his warm office during a cold, rainy day on the position he has attained. The chairman is the first to admit the minor importance of his achievement.

Bradbury is also indebted to Amis for the amusing placement of a mild teacher between two aggressive females. In *Lucky Jim*, the hero succeeds with one woman only when another woman is chasing him. At 40, Bradbury's hero, Treece, finally summons up enough courage to seduce a woman, only to have another woman barge in on them.

Both novels also utilize the same device for their climax. Amis has Jim deliver a speech for the university at an important town-gown affair; the speech is naturally a fiasco of hilariously appalling degree, and Jim sinks to the platform dead drunk. Bradbury gives the speech not to the hero but to a new character, someone not unlike Amis himself, an angry-young-man novelist who has been invited to the university for an important social-literary celebration.

Yet Bradbury is by no means a pilferer. He refers to Amis by name and by allusion. When Treece has to awaken the angry-young-man novelist after the big night, Treece fears lest the guest bedroom is burnt: "in one novel he had read, the hero had burned the linen with cigarettes," and obvious reference to Amis. But when plot incidents are forgotten, Bradbury and Amis are worlds apart. Amis' book ended with Jim freed from the stagnant ocean of convention that engulfs the university town; Jim is on his way to London and freedom. It was a clever escape, an amusing plot contrivance that got Jim his freedom, but as a solution to the problem Amis opened up, it could not be taken seriously: Jim is ready for new picaresque adventures in London, for in never really facing himself, he has kept the possibility of surprise available at every moment. But Bradbury's novel goes much further afield than Amis ever intended. Bradbury progresses from the ridiculous to the tragic, as Waugh did in *Vile Bodies*. He shows the insane amusements of his milieu only to close with that milieu's lack of resources.

What Bradbury is writing is a morality drama. At 40, Treece begins to review his life and wonders how much of a man he has been. Treece is intelligent, kind and aware of his meekness. He has always regarded himself as a political liberal and a humanist, but now he begins to doubt if he has ever been much of anything. Belonging neither to the Right, or the upper social strata, not fitting into the new Left, or the new Bohemia, Treece searches for what he stands for. He fears he is becoming a "most fantastic old reactionary" and that he is being "pushed toward the fringes of the society he lived in, into a peripheral and invalid existence."

What causes Treece to doubt himself and begin his Dantean journey is the appearance at the university of a 26-year-old balding student named Louis Bates. Bates is a poet, and a little insane; he telephones his instructor at 3 a.m. to ask "whether she objected to a mixed metaphor in an essay on the historical background to Restoration drama which he was writing for her – so long as he knew it was mixed."

Between Bates and Treece stands Em-

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"A classic" novel of the West*

CARRINGTON

by MICHAEL STRAIGHT

"REALLY first-class novels of the American West, such as Walter Van Tilburg Clark's *The Ox-Bow Incident*, have usually been long on the subtle exposition of character and moral issues. With CARRINGTON, his first novel, Michael Straight makes a strong bid to join the pantheon of leading Western story writers, and he shows, besides, high potential as a novelist at large.

"STRAIGHT, now 43, son and grandson, respectively, of the prominent New Yorkers Willard Straight and William C. Whitney ...edited *The New Republic* until 1956. Then, while traveling in Wyoming, he visited the scene of an Indian massacre, which excited him to give up all other work and write CARRINGTON.

"THE STORY which Straight brings to life—with a large cast of convincing individuals, sweeping perspectives of landscapes and bloodshed alternating with tortures of moral reflection—is the perpetual drama of the imaginative, compassionate man faced with the cruel, combative challenges of the world."

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ma, a pretty graduate student, who herself is in doubt about the course of her life – marriage or scholarship, home or career. She can turn to Bates, who is ugly and poetic, who is trying to create something new and is grotesque and occasionally successful, or she can accept Treece, who in the sweetness of his tolerance, affords the possibility of quietism and insignificance.

Treece is supposed to represent the old liberal who no longer "fits" into the new doctrinaire leftism. The political theme however is as relevant or irrelevant as any other part of the bigger question Bradbury is dealing with – the question of commitment. At one point he has Emma call Bates "uncommitted" and Treece "committed." Yet Treece feels so uncommitted to his present existence that he suffers a nervous collapse. Emma thinks Bates is uncommitted because he is an artist, and so he must suffer alienation in order to improve his society. What she fails to see is that Treece lacks the sense of commitment which gives meaning to any artist, and that being a liberal humanist Treece is committed to his virtue – honest doubt – which grows more painful as the years pass.

In any society Treece would be a passive liberal. Just as he is nothing without a society to give him meaning, so he is a welcome, necessary and unnoticed addition to any society he enters. He is the eternal questioner: everyone listens to his questions, but no one tries to answer them, including himself. His questions are never meant to be answered: that is his tragedy.

At one point Treece asks, "What is the poor little liberal humanist to do?" At another point he is told by a sociology professor, "You prefer a good, honest Western *doubt* – with all the personal ineffectiveness and depression that that entails ... You must expect to be depressed." "I know," answers Treece, "but I've always hoped not to be."

You may be depressed by the conclusion, but you can also expect some of the brightest comedy in years. *Eating People Is Wrong* is often foolish; it is more often magnificent, and it certainly marks the debut of a first-rate talent.

The Alchemist

One day, the formula almost right,
(Perhaps too much nutmeg, too little tin),
He found himself endowed with second-sight.

It happened suddenly: the air grew thin,
Alembics bubbled, noises slammed his head.
For a moment he thought the roof had fallen in.

Coming-to, puzzled but not dead,
He switched the burner off and combed his hair.
Opening a dusty window made his scalp turn red.

Then he was aroused by daylight and fresh air.
A woman, not to be equated, passed.
He turned and burnt his formulas right there.

It was as if the secret of the world were cast
Into his hands. He married, saw the light,
And nailed a druggist's signboard to his mast.

It came to this – he walked to town one night
And went on board a ship which, he was told,
Would sail far eastward of the Benin Bight.

Once there he climbed a mountain and uncovered gold.

ANTHONY BAILEY

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MOVIES

The Tennessee Williams Cycle

Is there a future for Tennessee Williams? Or is there nothing ahead of him but his past? His second film of the season, *The Fugitive Kind*, raises more than a suspicion of bankruptcy of material, of his feeding on himself.

This new picture is based on his play *Orpheus Descending*, a revision of his earliest full-length play *Battle of Angels* which closed on its try-out tour about 20 years ago. Like all of his long plays – if you remember *The Glass Menagerie, A Streetcar Named Desire, Summer and Smoke, Camino Real, The Rose Tattoo, Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*, and *Sweet Bird of Youth* – this one, too, is about a search for free, full emotional life. A vagabond guitar-player, disgusted with his futile existence, drifts into a small Southern town, gets a job clerking, and hopes to live simply and fully. But his animal musk undoes him. He is pursued by a rich young hellion who wants to drown her frustrated idealism in his embrace; he stirs the senses of the Italian wife of his employer; and he even provokes religious visions in the sheriff's wife. At last the men of the town eliminate him.

The Fugitive Kind
(United Artists)

This film derived from his first play has the same theme as his latest play: the world forces a young man of extraordinary sexual power to live by that power and then punishes him for doing so. It is as though in these two works Williams has circumscribed his subcontinent of exploration.

The question that this new film raises for us *vis-à-vis* Williams is: how long can you and I go on being represented by riff-raff? When Williams first appeared, he seared his audience because his milieu was a novel semi-underworld and because the currency of that world (not of all the South but of his South) was violence and sex. Our urbane theater, except in murder mysteries and sheer melodrama, takes a long time to get down to these elemental theatrical forces, if it ever gets to them at all. But Williams *began* with them: and clothed them in considerable poignancy and poetic figuration, both of language and symbolic action. By now, however, his almost unvaried return to the same seamy arena, at the same cultural level (no matter how much money his people have), begins to make us restive.

Kowalski and Mangicavallo in their undershirts were virtually irresistible. They represented qualities in us – without equivocation – that were starved for externalization in art. But they keep coming back in Williams' work, and the more often they return, the more apparent it becomes that there is more in us than there is in them. Lurid colors, the feral slash, are always welcome in the theater both because they are constants in life and because they are where the theater has its root. But a writer who is limited to those elements is not made for the long journey. His new work begins to remind you of his past work; and, what is in a way worse, he himself begins to be conscious of this and strives to give deeper "meaning" to the use of more or less the same material. In this film and in *Sweet Bird*, Williams feels it necessary to deliver precise messages about the most important things in life. They are, says he, to live and to love. But how long can we find rewards in a writer – no matter how gifted – for whom "live" and "love" mean simply to copulate?

Sweet Bird and his last film *Suddenly, Last Summer* were both hugely successful, in my view, because Williams' name has become a trade-mark of sweaty sexuality wrapped in perfumed poesy. There is enough "art" about the efforts to assure the pop-eyed playgoer that he is not a mere sensation-seeker; how could he be happier? It is neither in my province nor my power to predict success so I can't say whether this new film will draw crowds. But Williams may be turning into a theatrical Erskine Caldwell – whose novels continue to make mountains of money long after they ceased to be good because his name is a guarantee of mattressy sex. One hoped – and still hopes – for more from Williams. There was ample cause to believe that he would grow along Strindbergian, even Chekhovian lines. There is cause now to fear that he is trapped by the facility with which he can re-work the same vein, possibly convinced that by refusing to move into new areas he is being true to himself: and that he is also trapped – perhaps unconsciously and insidiously – by the public's present image of him.

The repetitious effect of the film is enhanced by the presence of Marlon Brando in the leading role. His performance of Kowalski in *Streetcar* was archetypal in the Williams canon. To be fair, this new role is quite different from Kowalski in aspiration, but it is so similar in diction and status that Brando, like Williams, seems to be deriving from his own past work. The result is such a caricature – with overdone pauses, brute-brow fumbling for the right word, ape-like hand groping for truth – that the artist that Brando may become may some day buy up all the prints of this film and burn them.

Anna Magnani does her best to fill the role of the store-keeper's wife with reality, but the part is porous imitation; as fast as she pours honesty in, it runs out. Williams gives her a few catch-phrases to prove that she is a full-blooded, earthy woman ("the wine-garden of my father" – "there is life in my body"), but they ring as hollow in their pseudo-elemental way as soap-opera does in its pseudo-neighborly way.

Joanne Woodward, too, suffers from comparison with herself. She has played

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this part (the headstrong Southern girl) several times before. Miss Woodward is a good young actress, but she is powerless against the empty pretentiousness of the role and against the fact that, in a short fifteen years or so, much of this material and method has moved from immediacy and truth to theatrical cliché.

Sidney Lumet, the director, is usually at least clever at least part of the time – an acquisitive magpie who has picked up, along with tinselly trash, a few small gems. This time he brings us nothing but bits of colored glass. The less-than-perfect mantle of Elia Kazan is here draped on considerably narrower shoulders. The finale: Miss Magnani, pregnant by Brando, is shot by her husband, who is dying of cancer. Meanwhile the new wing of the store – a pretty confectionery which she built to revive the spirit of her father's wine-garden – is blazing furiously, deliberately fired by her husband. And while Miss Woodward stands on the sidelines screaming his name, Brando is forced back into the blaze by the streams of two fire-hoses played on him by vindictive friends of the cuckold.

Let the description serve as its own comment. STANLEY KAUFFMANN

ART

The Hand of God in England

There's been a strain of self-consciousness about craft work ever since it was self-consciously resurrected in the 19th Century as an antidote to a machine civilization. During the early decades of the 20th Century, craft work tended to be the last resort of the incompetent who were nevertheless determined to express themselves. The feeling was that painting was entirely too difficult; you could never get the damn trees the right distance from the viewer. But basket-weaving, ah, there was a form of expression; you could sit with the miles of material and go in-and-out, in-and-out endlessly and mindlessly and somehow convince yourself that you were part of the creative life.

British Artist Craftsmen
Commercial Museum, Philadelphia
(A Smithsonian Institution Exhibit)

Happily for crafts, the end of World War II changed all that. A mode of painting came in with no standards at all. You didn't have to worry about the trees or even about the forest. You simply expressed yourself in paint right onto the canvas. Whatever the effects of this on painting, the results for crafts have been nothing but good. Artist supply stores have sprung up everywhere in the land. Adult education classes have added immensely popular courses in self-expression. The old basketweavers and their creative daughters have all become abstract expressionists and crafts have been left to the pros.

In America a certain amount of the old self-consciousness still hangs on. There's a craft mystique widely accepted which equates fine art with the old "good making" of the resurrected crafts of the 19th Century. At the same time the mystique more or less rigidly enforces a self-conscious materialism in craftwork. Texture is all, or at least a great deal more than it ought to be. Any degree of representation is frowned on, since the pictures spoil the view of the weave or of the course followed by the potter's thumb. The more extreme true believers don't use glazes on pottery, for example, because glazes are thought to falsify the earthiness of the clay; on the other hand all that glitters is gladly incorporated into weaving because the gold and silver strands are thought to call attention to the weave itself.

None of this self-consciousness is present, thank God, in the work of our British cousins, at least as that work is represented by a large traveling exhibition, *British Artist Craftsmen*, now in Philadelphia.

The "thank God," above, is not a conventional expression. From the point of view of the usual American craft show, there is an astonishing percentage of religious material, objects designed for Christian or Jewish ritual use, or objects expressing some aspect of belief. As we all know there's a big religious revival going on in America, too, but so far in painting and sculpture this has been confined to Zen and to Voodoo. Something like 40 percent of the British material has to do with the old time religions of Western man, and, because of size in things like stained glass and wall hangings, religion seems to dominate the show. I talked to one of the organizers of the exhibition in Philadelphia and she said that there was no intent at all to make a religious show. It just turned out that a great deal of the better work in Britain is liturgical or devotional. She thinks the rebuilding of Coventry Cathedral as a contemporary church building attached to the ruins has had a lot to do with the state of religious crafts in England. Some of the work on view was designed for Coventry and many of the artists have executed pieces for the new cathedral.

The exhibition makes no sharp distinctions between what Americans usually distinguish as art and craft. There are no paintings in the show, but there's much sculpture, including work by Epstein, Moore, Butler and Hepworth, and some of the glass and tapestry that was designed by painters, among them John Piper and Graham Sutherland.

Moore, besides two *Madonna and Child* pieces in bronze and one in terra cotta, has a couple of eight foot prints on linen, a *Reclining Figure* and *Two Standing Figures*. These vast cloths really do translate the monumentality of Moore to two dimensions. Sutherland's woven design could be a painting by him. A compressed eagle centers the design beneath a sprouting thistle;

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there is the suggestion of a cross and the colors are his acid reds and greens. Piper, who is doing glass for the baptistry at Coventry, has a flowing cope in the show with tongues of fire or the breath of the spirit radiating out from a center. Hepworth's *Cantate Domino* is a bronze casting over six feet high in which – at least in this context – her feeling for abstract form has successfully embodied the feeling of joy and praise of God that you get in certain of the psalms. Great planes curve in and out, rising like flame, or voices, or hands, or trees, to heaven.

There are a lot of excellent, clean, imaginative altar furnishings – candlesticks and crosses and the like. But certainly the most impressive altar piece in the show is a set of ark doors, almost six feet high, done in enamel by Stefan Knapp. The melting quality, which is part of the process, has been retained to great effect. In the first place, Knapp's doors give the look of jewels scattered and crushed in honor of what they protect. Rising in the center, but leaning off center, is a bulky form suggesting the tables of the law. All down this form appear Hebrew letters flashing in and out of the design. Behind that central form is a bent horizontal band, decorated with detours and with spikes, that recalls the hard and devious journey in the desert.

The thorncross invented some years back by Sutherland has found its way into sculpture and very effectively, too; after all, Sutherland was hardly the discoverer of crosses and thorns in Christian art. *Thorns* by Robert Adam has the spiky forms looped around the center of a cross and forming the arms. Geoffrey Clarke's *Cruciform* is another version of the same motive, but its substitutes dragging bulk and weight for bright points of pain. Clarke, who has also done glass for Coventry, has a most striking *Stations of the Cross* in the show. The fourteen incidents are grouped in one row of tall, hollowed out cones of metal, the figures being stretched out, as by a rack, within the cones.

In short, the show is full of excellence and variety in both mood and medium. When all this is regarded as, in a sense, the by-product of the reconstruction of Coventry Cathedral, the American visitor is struck by the enormous missed opportunity of the two big new churches in Washington, one pure Gothic resurrectionist, the other MGM eclectic.

FRANK GETLEIN

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Martin Tucker *is on the English faculty of Long Island University.* Anthony Bailey's *second novel,* The Mother Tongue, *will be published in the fall by the Dial Press.*

Correspondence

The New Republic *welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.*

A Democratic Delusion

Sirs:

The editorial note "When Money Comes High," (April 11), complains of the high interest rate and its inequitable effect on certain sectors of the economy, and concludes, after a recitation of the ineptitude of monetary policy, that "the fairer way to counteract . . . inflation is to employ fiscal policy. . . ."

If this panacea is valid, there must be a satisfactory answer to the query, "how can fiscal policy be used without obtaining the same effect on the interest rate as monetary policy, given the framework of non-specific government controls?" Anticipating my conclusion, I answer that there is no way to eliminate a high interest rate unless inflation is to be accepted as the price.

The problem facing the Administration today is one of immobilizing the large near-money stock available for spending. Their approach to its solution is to make these funds too expensive to borrow at a pace which would outdistance production and result in inflation.

The problem which is highlighted by the editorial is rather the inequity of the high interest rate on investment in the socially desirable areas of slum clearance, public health construction and road building. But isn't the complaint of maldistribution one that pierces to the heart of the free market economy and is furthermore not remediable by the gen-

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eral government policies of fiscal and monetary controls? If no one is turned down by the market processes, inflation will reign in the current market over which hangs the Damoclean sword of large amounts of liquid funds. Who will make the decision that one borrower is to be preferred to another?

The theme of your comment is really but a variation on the familiar tune of special *vs.* general controls, a controversy that has separated the two entrenched political parties for two decades. Democratic economists from Keyserling to Galbraith share a similar distrust of the whole market economy. To them, the market stands for waste and drift, just as the government stands for growth and aim. But the real threat is their failure to see that the ultimate waste will be transferring to the government, in the name of distribution and equity, powers reserved "to the people."

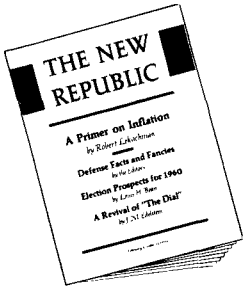
J. Hampton Hickman
Yale Law School

In Reply:

The last paragraphs of Mr. Hickman's letter deserve a reply. The preference of many liberals – economists and non-economists alike – for fiscal policy and special programs tailored to the needs of various groups is based on a vision of our economy different from the free enterprise model which Mr. Hickman admires and appears to believe still exists. Large economic units tilt economic affairs in their own favor. Administered prices and withheld profits shelter major corporations from the full operation of "market processes." Organized labor enjoys advantages over unorganized workers which have more to do with the facts of union power than the unimpeded operation of free markets. In the course of defending the country, the Federal government spends large amounts on defense and, in so doing, inevitably alters the shape of our economic life. In such a world, we believe it is only sensible to recognize that some vital activities will be vulnerable, some individuals will be unprotected, and some groups will be unfairly penalized. Existing markets in our organizational society do not allocate resources wisely or equitably because existing markets are only partially free. Thus, in the end the issue between the liberal and the conservative view turns on the descriptive validity of two conceptions of the American economy.

THE EDITORS

Editor Ralph McGill:



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University of Illinois

Organizing the Sinclair Letters

Sirs:

Permit me to thank Mr. Ronald Sanders for his kind review (April 18) of *My Life in Letters*. He remarks that "the lone and relentless muckraker has had his thunder stolen by the New Deal, war and prosperity." Someone has remarked that "the business of people with ideas is to have them stolen," and I was happy to be robbed by two presidents, Theodore and F. D. Roosevelt. But wars were no part of my program, nor are they.

Mr. Sanders notes "the lack of a binding theme or form" in the book. . . . But how could one "organize" Bernard Shaw and Ezra Pound, Julia Ward Howe and Thomas Mann, Edith Wharton and Gandhi, Einstein and Vanzetti? I couldn't.

Upton Sinclair
Monrovia, Calif.

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